3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

> She worked all night once, and I thought there must be something to it. But her power got small. You know what the Christians say, "Backslide," not working strong enough. She said, "My help is getting small."[12]

Alec Wilson was a shaman, one of perhaps three in the lower Williamson River area. After the Agency had outlawed shamanistic curing, he gave up his practice. Later, his child fell ill. His wife railed at him, "You call yourself an Indian doctor! Why don't you do something? Can't you see your own child is dying?" Helplessly, he explained, "My tricks [i.e. powers] are all gone, have left me; I can't do nothing without my tricks."

Though prohibited, shamanistic activities continued into recent times. In 1897, Emery dealt severely with two instances of curing at Paiute Camp, awarding a month at hard labor each to Doctor Sam and Tom Godowa for attempting a shamanistic cure of the latter's daughter and a week in jail to Tom Chocktoot, headman of the Paiute, for a similar effort on behalf of Pete Pauline's daughter. Chocktoot had also to return the sack of flour and blanket he had received as his fee.[13] A number of adults who were products of the boarding school recall the transvestite shaman, White Cindy. One man was cured by him in the early 1890's;[14] and a woman who fell ill through dreaming of him underwent the required shamanistic cure, although she was a Methodist. Henry Jackson is said to have retained shamans to perform cures at his house, and he is widely suspected to have hired the assassin of the Modoc shaman, Doctor George, in 1899, on the suspicion that he had encompassed the death of his sons.[15]

While the campaign against the shamans was proceeding, other events had taken place. In 1871, a Paiute had introduced upon the Upper End (Yainax) the nativistic Ghost Dance religion; and Doctor George, at that time not yet a shaman, had brought it to the Tule Lake Modoc. There it was taken up by the Modoc shaman, Curley-haired Doctor, and played an ideological role during the Modoc War. A Klamath commoner named O'Toole brought the religion to the Lower End, at the Lakes, where a dance was organized by Allen David (then head chief), Lobert, a headman and shaman, O'Toole, and Frank Chilks, another commoner. No Agency employees among the Indians participated.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

After the end of the Modoc War, a second movement, the Earthlodge Cult, was brought to the reservation by two Pit River Indians, Henry Jackson and Pit River Charley, who had learned about it while visiting relatives in northern California. Shortly after this cult was introduced, a delegation of Klamath and Modoc from both Ends of the reservation visited Falls City, California, and Fort Crook to witness dances and seek the "message." Gradually, the Earthlodge Cult passed into a second phase, known as the Dream Dance. At the Upper End, the leaders were again Doctor George and Monchnkasgitk, while at the Lower they included Allen David, Jason Howard, a commoner, Chanchan, a shaman from Pelican Bay, O'Toole, and Lobert. The Paiute abstained from both the earlier and the later phases of this cult. The movement effectively stopped about 1878 with the building of the Methodist Church.

Nash, whose account has been followed here, has set forth the ritual and the theological content of each movement and has convincingly analyzed the social tensions and individual motives, so far as they can be recovered, that gave significance to the movements. The Ghost Dance was given antiwhite connotations by the Tule Lake Modoc, but not by the other groups. The Earthlodge Cult, on the other hand, was strongly antiwhite at the Upper End, but not at the Agency. Around this time the Indians were becoming alarmed by reports that they were going to be exterminated by the troops and agitated by the boundary line and military road disputes, which especially affected the Upper End. Such fears may have contributed to the growth and local character of the Earthlodge Cult.

Viewed together, these movements constituted a progressive accommodation to the Klamath scene. As Nash characterizes it:

> The Ghost Dance represented a sharp break with Modoc and Klamath ritual tradition. The Earthlodge Cult was more in accord with this tradition, and the Dream Dance was still more consonant with it, and in the course of its development became incorporated into it. At the same time the aboriginal distinction between the ritual experience of shamans and the ritual experience of nonshamans was broken down. Participants in the Dream Dance, particularly the strong dreamers, began acting like shamans; and shamans who participated in the Dream Dance acted more like ordinary men. . . . As the Dream Dance grew older, the traditional gap between shamans and non-

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

shamans widened again as ordinary people ceased dreaming, and shamans incorporated Dream Dance symbols and practices into their rituals.[16]

While these nativistic movements were going on, the first steps were being taken to provide Christian training to replace the native faith which was being discredited. In 1872, Thomas Pearne, an educated Indian from the Yakima reservation, had been appointed interpreter. During that year, until his resignation to return to Washington Territory in the following spring, he carried on missionary work among the Klamath, bringing thirty-six into the church. Among them was Lileks, who at his death three years later was numbered among the "Praying Indians."[17]

The following year, the Reverend James Harer was appointed Commissary at Yainax, where for a brief period he preached at religious meetings which were well attended.[18] By 1876, the Agent at the Lower End and the farmer at Yainax still were holding forth. Employees had volunteered to advance half the salary for a missionary if the Methodist Missionary Society would match the amount; but nothing came of it.[19] Roork, the following year, took a number of the principal men and women, along with some scholars from the Indian School, to the annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Salem, probably in another appeal for a missionary.[20]

The flavor of those early meetings is preserved in one of the letters to Dave Hill, dictated in 1875 by Allen David.

> After we had had our talk at the Agency I sent word for all the people to come to my house to talk about these things, and see who would agree to listen to what Dave, Tecumseh and I had said, and who would get our hearts and who would not. I told them to come on Sunday the Lord's day and we would all the same as mammook [make, hold] church, we would make good hearts and the Lord would mammook close nanish [take good care of] us on his day. So some Yainax Inds.–Brown Mosenkosket and some Modocs, some Lake Inds., some Chiloquin's people and some of all the Inds. came. Chíkaskane first spoke and said that at first he had a bad heart. That the chiefs first listened to the Agents and got their hearts and then tried to get the other Inds. to get the same hearts; that they had put him in the guard house which was right, and Mr. Dyar was also right for he was in the wrong and all the same as said to the Chiefs

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

of the McLaughlin agreement, praising the Inspector as "a man that got heart in him for a Poor Indian People."[48] Toward the end of his visit, the envoy was stricken with appendicitis, and his half-brother and political foe, Joseph Kirk, rushed to his bedside and remained to bring him home.

New contacts, both with officials and attorneys and possibly with the delegates from other tribes, must greatly have enlarged the horizon for men like Jesse Kirk. Indeed, James McLaughlin, returned to the reservation to execute a new agreement with the Tribe rectifying a mistake in the boundary surveys used, soon found the new mettle in the man. The revised draft, he reported, was

> duly executed by more than the necessary number of Indians belonging to the Agency, but not without having to overcome strong opposition, evidently prearranged and determinedly led by the most influential Indian of the reservation, Reverend Jesse Kirk, who demanded that the clause providing for irrigation of their lands be stricken out, also the clause for the payment of the legal fees of attorneys having duly approved contracts. I, however, remained firm and would not concede any modification or change of a single word, letter or punctuation mark in the agreement as prepared by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and it was thus concluded by a large majority of the Indians signing the agreement. When Rev. Jesse Kirk found that I was going to succeed in obtaining the required number of signatures he, together with his followers, finally came forward and signed the agreement—and he also signed as one of the two Interpreters.
>
> The opposition of said Rev. Jesse Kirk, was influenced by the fact that he visited Washington last winter, remaining there some months, during which time he learned that large appropriations were being made by Congress for general irrigation purposes on Indian reservations, and that the Klamath could have from such appropriations all the money necessary for irrigating their lands without providing for such in this agreement, and as the contract with their attorneys was for a period of eight years, and expires on July 21, 1901, he captiously desired to exclude the clause protecting them.

Jesse Kirk, so McLaughlin learned, had been informed in Washington that the Indians need not employ attorneys, since the case was sure to be decided in their favor. Many Indians, however, did not agree with his view and desired to keep good faith

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

with the attorneys. There were some, who nonetheless wanted to submit a petition setting forth their views.[47]

If all who signed the agreement after Jesse Kirk were his adherents, he could count on 121 men against 70 for the proadministration faction.

Domestic issues added weight to discontent. Soon after taking office, Oliver Applegate had set up road districts, each presided over by the policeman within it, and had permitted the police to settle minor differences within their several districts.[48] He had, moreover, apparently reversed the policy of Emery, who had permitted the Indians to elect both police and judges for the reservation. Early in 1900, a group of Klamath, apparently led by Jesse Kirk, became insistent that elections be reinstituted. Applegate was reluctant to accede, since he "felt that an Agents selection of his military force and administrators of justice should not be trammeled by selections which might be the result more of 'political' management than of the honest opinions of the majority." However, he agreed to ask for an opinion from the Commissioner.[49]

Gen. A. C. Hawley was sent to consider the issue, and conducted his investigation largely during Jesse Kirk's absence in Washington. At the end of his tour, Hawley strongly supported the position entertained by Applegate, who observed:

> . . . if at any time this electoral system should become in order, in the selection of the agent's personal assistants and executive force, the time had not yet arrived to put this privilege in the hands of the people. It would increase rather than limit the number of tribal and family feuds and keep alive the numerous personal jealousies which we are endeavoring to stamp out.[50]

The matter, however, was far from settled. Early in 1902, on the eve of Jesse Kirk's departure for Washington to secure ratification of the revised McLaughlin agreement, a petition was prepared by his faction requesting the privilege of being allowed to elect the mooted officers, subject to approval of the U.S. Indian Agent. This document bore 120 signatures, and is in line with estimates of the strength of this faction. The covering letter, by Jesse Kirk, urged in behalf of the Klamath that

> they desire to take steps forward and prepare themselves in citizenship for the years to come, and encourage them into civili-

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

> zation only, and not into blankets and long haired Indians in old custom. But to encourage them in education as well as christianity, which will enable them to be a civilized people.

He cited the industry of the Klamath, claiming that they were self-sustaining through such enterprises as stock raising and laboring. The concession of a safeguard in elections may have been his, for he stressed that election of officers must be confirmed not only by the Agent but by the Secretary of the Interior. The Commissioner simply forwarded the documents to Applegate,[51] who, as if to point up the grievances, had just named three new judges.[52]

The actions of the Agent—now retitled Superintendent—in the investigation of the death of one George Modoc brought into the fray that educated gadfly, Charles S. Hood. A Carlisle graduate and leader of the returned Modoc, Hood took an interest in the case when Grant Smith, a fellow tribesman, was held on suspicion of having had a hand in the death. Some four months later, Hood wrote Applegate urging that Smith be released to look after his family and stock, with the understanding that Smith would come back to stand trial. Apparently rebuffed, Hood then wrote to the U.S. Attorney in Portland, who sternly demanded of Applegate, "Will you please inform me by what process or authority he is confined in jail, and whether or not in your judgment if [he] is liberated he will run away." Stung, the Superintendent denied that statement and claimed that Smith had been on parole most of the time so that he could look after his affairs.[53] The attacks upon him seem to have driven Applegate toward a more extreme position, as reflected in his recourse for local cases to police courts instead of the less subordinate Court of Indian Offenses.[54]

In 1904, the pace quickened. Through the early part of the year, Knott C. Egbert found Henry Jackson ungovernable. In April, Jesse Kirk, once more in Washington, directed a letter to Commissioner Jones. It was transmitted by Oregon's Senators Mitchell and Fulton and Representative Williamson, with these words:

> We have every confidence in Mr. Kirk, and we are sure he would made no recommendations that he did not feel were fully justified, and we are also aware of the fact that the Indians of

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 *657 665 *668 578 [666]

> the Agency, in the main, have implicit confidence in him, or they would not send him here each year as their agent to look after their interests."

In his letter, Kirk once more called for elections, stating, "The present manner of selection does not result in securing the services of the best men. . . ." He was instructed, he said, to suggest and request that an election be held on the fifth of July when the tribe in council might make its selection, and further proposed

> that you instruct your Superintendent to be guided by such selection in the appointment of persons to fill these offices; these appointments by the Superintendent, of course, to be ratified and approved by you. This in order that, should our selection be ignored by the Superintendent, we may have the opportunity of being heard by you."

This bold typescript letter, its flowing style so unlike Jesse Kirk's, bears every earmark of expert assistance. The source of that aid, either legal or legislative, is suggested by the circumstance that the next letter, to Applegate, was forwarded by the congressional trio with a covering letter dated the same day. The Kirk epistle set forth the same demands for an election, but did not mention an appeal to the Commissioner. In their covering letter, Mitchell and his colleagues observed, "Mr. Kirk seems to be very strongly of the opinion that the plans suggested in this communication should be adopted," and they urged that Applegate give it "very careful consideration."[87]

On his return, Jesse Kirk set about a direct assult upon the Superintendent. First came a letter from the "Delegate and Agent of the Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin band of Snake Indians" to the Commissioner, charging that livestock were permitted to trespass upon the reservation and that O. C. Applegate and his stockman and chief of police, George W. Loosley, "systematically" ignored and suppressed complaints on the subject. Loosley, it was charged, continually evaded his duty and "loiters indolently his time away at the agency. . . ." Jesse Kirk, for his part, wanted no white cattle at all upon the reservation. This letter, together with that written earlier to the commissioner on the elections, was buttressed by two petitions circulated together, bearing 184 and 183 signatures, each certified by nine men, Jesse

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

Kirk, Henry Jackson, Drummer David, Logan Pompey, Albert Jackson, Yank Lobert, Ike Jackson, William A. Moore, and Sargent Brown.[58]

A letter to the Commission one month later, signed by the same nine men, asserted that Abraham Charley (then captain of police) was immediately responsible for stock trespass upon the reservation through his policy of renting tribal and unfenced allotted lands, a practice for which he lacked tribal consent.[59]

Within the month, the delegate wrote Senator Mitchell on behalf of a runaway schoolboy who, it was claimed, preferred to go to Chemawa. Mitchell sent the letter on to the Commissioner. When the Commissioner detailed the matter to his subordinate, Applegate at last flared forth.

> Permit me to say in this connection that the interference of the "Rev." Jesse Kirk in the affairs of the Agency and Schools has become nearly intolerable and that it is a decided menace to the peace and tranquility of the Schools and in fact of the entire reservation. His hostility to the authorities is now boldly asserted, though for a long time treacherously veiled, and it may be necessary, and that very soon, to restrain him in some way or to remove him from the reservation.[60]

Applegate had not long to wait for the next blow. His letter crossed one from the Commissioner transmitting a telegram and a letter sent to the President by Jesse Kirk and others charging the Superintendent with mismanagement of the affairs of the Agency and schools. Applegate was ineffectual, claimed the letter; he did not maintain discipline and permitted drunkenness; he bestowed undue favors upon Abraham Charley, particularly in allowing him to take out a grazing permit; he let the fields grow up to weeds; and he opposed sending children to nonreservation schools. Applegate roundly denied all charges, pointing out that three of his ten accusers were former Agency employees, dropped from service for various reasons, and that another three were expolicemen who had been found undesirable. All of them he branded "henchmen and followers of the chief conspirator, the 'Rev.' Jesse Kirk." Even then they were circulating another petition on the reservation.[61]

Before Applegate's round was fairly on the way, the hapless administrator received the next salvo. This time the Commissioner forwarded the letters and petitions from the Kirk faction

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

on the trespass and election issues, together with a telegram protesting approval of the Abraham Charley permit and supporting letters from the Washington law firm of Dudley and Michener. Several months passed before Applegate came around to answering, which he did in temperate and reasoned tones. His remarks add little to what he had said previously.[62]

Meanwhile, Applegate was given an assignment which could only embroil him further. Upon instructions from the Commissioner, he and an assistant set forth with representatives of the Booth-Kelly Lumber Company, which had succeeded to the Military Road claims, to select lands in lieu of the 111,000 acres they held across the face of the reservation. Eventually, a tract of 87,000 acres of prime timber in the northeastern corner of the reservation was selected.[63]

Jesse Kirk is said to have opposed vehemently any cession of land, while his half-brother favored the arrangement finally arrived at.[64] Not until the fiery Indian leader was dead did the tribe finally agree to accept the sum of $108,750 from the United States in return for a quitclaim against the government; and that was achieved in the face of determined opposition from Clayton Kirk, who took up the battle from his father and bombarded Washington with petitions.

In later days Applegate believed that "in equity the Indians ought to have had the entire reservation. . . . They should be fully compensated." In 1904, however, he stood too close to the factionalism, and Ivan's role in the negotiations was too well recalled for him to avoid suspicion. Any of his acts were likely to become, in Merton's term, a self-fulfilling prophecy of complicity.[65]

Conditions at Klamath now prompted the Commissioner to send out as inspector Supervisor of Indian Schools M. F. Holland, whose harsh measures precipitated the final battle. At the Agency, a number of Indians, several of them employees, had erected a dozen shanties out of rejected lumber from the sawmill. Holland evidently found Slabtown, as the settlement was known, an eyesore. A former inhabitant there has suggested that Holland may also have been irked by the community's practice of providing food for various councils conducted by Jesse Kirk. The supervisor now ordered Slabtown razed. Accordingly, Applegate served notice on the residents to remove by the first of March.[66]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

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At the same time, Holland ordered that Indians be prohibited from loitering about the Agency office and other buildings.

Soon thereafter, Jesse Kirk with a group estimated by Applegate to number twenty or thirty persons and enumerated by the opposition at fourteen, either attempted to test the prohibition or were the objects of its first enforcement. In the ensuing scuffle with the Indian police, Holland seems to have been struck.[67] "Though the effort to expel them was successful, and without loss of life," related Applegate, "they left the Agency in a defiant and sullenish humor and the ensuing night sent to the other Agency (Yainax) for reinforcements and yet maintain an ugly and rebellious gathering on the reservation." Terming the incident a "riot," the Superintendent called in all seven policemen from the Lower End, added five more special police, and sought permission to expedite purchase of ammunition.[68]

What had been the business of the "rebels" at the Agency that day? They had been collecting signatures for another of Jesse Kirk's petitions, this time directed against O. C. Applegate, George W. Loosley, and "their special appointed man, Abraham Charley."[69] The petition had been drawn up by Jesse Kirk and a local attorney, F. H. Mills, retained by the Indians. Mills, a deputy district attorney for Klamath Falls, had previously taken Indian cases,[70] but a crusading element seems evident in his involvement in this dispute. J. W. Evans, the Assistant Superintendent at Yainax, noted that Henry Jackson had been paying his fees and that the Indians had put up $500 as a retainer.[71]

After their rebuff at the Agency, the Kirk faction withdrew to Yainax, where they held meetings at the home of Henry Jackson and gathered signatures for their petition. In the end, 133 men, over half of the eligible voters, signed. Evans claimed that deceit and force were used, and that a "kind of secrecy" was maintained, but Mills contended that others had also desired to sign, being prevented from doing so by subsequent events. Mills, charged Evans, "used his personal influence to get the Indians to sign."

While the meeting was still in session, one of the Indian police came in with a request from three of the "leading Indians" (unnamed by Evans) of the Yainax district, asking that the police stop the session, on the grounds that the disputes would engender trouble. Evans thereupon ordered Abraham Charley, captain of

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

[Klamath Reservation]

police, to put an end to that meeting and to call one at the house of Harrison Brown—a proadministration leader—to try to effect a settlement. At that session, not unexpectedly, feelings ran high. Unable to come to an agreement, the Kirk faction broke off discussion and resumed their meeting at Jackson's.

Thereupon, Abraham Charley summoned all parties to the office of the Assistant Superintendent in the Yainax school, where, for six hours, some forty men argued. Finally, Evans stated that he could not prevent circulation of the petition so long as that did not cause a disturbance. Harrison Brown's party promptly surged forward and sought to seize the petition by force, but were prevented, said Evans, by the police. The conditions of unrest having been established, Evans was able to require that the petition be delivered up to him "until a general council could be regularly called and decide on its disposal."

Evans ended his report with a denunciation of Jesse Kirk as "a disturbing element on the reservation, [who] has a bad influence on the Indians. He should be told to go to his ranch and work it, or be put off the reservation." Of the attorney, he observed:

> Frank Mills should be told to leave the Indians and go out of the Government's business, and if there is anything to be attended to or settled, there are proper officers belonging to the Commissioner's Department and Department of the Interior who can do it."

Despite his brave front, Oliver Applegate had already privately conceded defeat and was writing his friend and former subordinate, Knott C. Egbert, at Siletz reservation, suggesting that he apply for the Superintendency. He was evidently dismayed by the turn events had taken and alarmed, suggests his son, for the safety of his family. Moreover, a letter from Egbert intimates that Applegate felt a lack of administrative support, since he had been confirmed as Superintendent through his service as Agent, and had not passed the civil service examinations. Egbert proposed that he take the examination quietly in Portland; but the Applegates had long opposed the establishment of the civil service, and the advice seems to have proven repugnant.[73]

Meanwhile, early in March, a council was held at Yainax. It was presided over by Levi Walker, and the principal business

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10

was transacted by Jack Palmer, Harrison Brown, Ike Mose, and Abraham Charley. A committee of ten men submitted a report of the findings of the council, presenting the proadministration viewpoint and requesting "that these men [Kirk and party] be not allowed to do any more business pertaining to the tribe without tribal authority."[74]

Jesse Kirk and his adherents did not participate in the "loyal" council. After the scene in Evans' office, Kirk and Jackson had consulted with Mills in Klamath Falls. In the company of the attorney they then returned to demand the petition. Evans refused, informing Mills that "no attorney had any right to interfere in tribal affairs without permission from the Interior Department." The three retired and with others of the faction drew up another petition which they forwarded to Washington.[75]

In his letter of transmittal to the firm of Dudley and Michener in the capital, who were in turn to present the matter to the Commissioner, Mills shed a new perspective upon matters. After reviewing some of the earlier developments, he turned to the investigations of Inspector Holland, which, as he said,

> proceeded along smothly [sic] enough until the questions of money and property became the subject of inquiry when it developed that during the last four years a system of collecting money, stock, lumber and other property had been adopted; it seems that this was done by first having the "Indian" court (a sort of disciplinary tribunal which has been authorized or rather sanctioned by the department) impose a penalty or punishment and then allow the indian defendant to pay in cash or such other property as he might chance to have and notwithstanding that such court has no such authority to impose fine or collect money in that way. . . . During the time of the investigation some of the fines which had been collected one or two years were paid back to the defendants. . . . It is conclusive proof had there not been an illegal practice . . . no such returns would have been made. . . .

Although Holland had inquired into only one case, there had been several. Jesse Kirk had requested of George Loosley, chief of police, the list of fines imposed, but was denied it. Finally, Loosley consented to divulge the sum, amounting to $2,651 collected over a four-year period.

At the center of the case, claimed Mills, was Applegate, related through marriage to three brothers of the Loosley family. Two

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

of them, George and Fred, while employees of the Agency, had purchased lumber, posts, and similar items from Indians to build upon their 10,000-acre ranch.

The most serious malfeasance he charged, however was "the matter of leasing under the special permit system of unallotted tribal lands during the past three or four years." The usual system was for the Superintendent and George Loosley (who was also Agency stockman) to lease a district to an Indian, for example Abraham Charley or Harrison Brown, who in turn leased to whites at one dollar per head of cattle. "It is only those who have engaged in leasing the lands," Mills went on, "that have threatened violence if the petition was sent on to Washington. . . ." He suspected "a large discrepancy between the books of account and the amounts paid in for grazing upon the various districts of unallotted tribel [sic] lands as well as trespasses." During the past four years, less than $4,000 (and probably only $2,667) had been paid in, as against estimated returns of $10,000 from grazing alone.

The Indians therefore demanded the removal of Applegate and George Loosley, the election of officials, and an end to cattle trespass. They demanded more effective voice for the council in leasing and in disbursing Indian money. Finally, they noted other grievances in the treatment of sick school children and demanded that they be permitted to send their children to outside schools.[78]

The accuracy of these charges is secondary to the images of the truth they generated. It is of principal importance that Jesse Kirk was able to convince a large following that the charges were indeed correct. From the standpoint of his faction he then became a man deeply concerned with administrative abuses and striving to remove them by free elections. In that view, Applegate's obduracy drove Kirk reluctantly to more explicit detail until in the end he was forced openly to seek the Superintendent's removal.

In Washington, a new administration was in the saddle, and the new Commissioner was the reformer, F. E. Leupp. Even if Applegate were innocent, the embroilments under his administration would not have recommended his retention. In May, he vacated his office for Horace G. Wilson. Applegate had already received a temporary appointment as clerk at the Grande Ronde

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

Reservation, and within a year he was to return to Klamath as clerk for Indian employment. Evidently, the Bureau did not place much credence in the accusations.[77]

The "rebels" were jubilant, and the Commissioner found it necessary to visit the reservation and issue a statement denying that the Superintendent had been forced to resign. Though he "gave it good to Jesse," he did little to dampen his spirit.[78] Evans, writing to his former superior, detailed Kirk's efforts to assume a fuller leadership. He had informed the Indians that Superintendent Wilson had no right to go to Washington unless by their direction and with their instructions. Moreover, he was maintaining that "the man who was here was not the real Commr. but a just believe one. The real man would talk different to them he says."[79] His period of triumph, however, was brief, for in December, 1906, Jesse Kirk succumbed to typhoid.[80]

His death ended a critical phase of Klamath political development. When it closed, tribal political leaders had established the institution of the delegation that, bypassing the Bureau, dealt directly with congressional leaders in Washington. In matters requiring expert counsel, they relied upon attorneys retained by tribe or faction. Claims against the government, as political leaders found, were effective issues to attract adherents; and those who sought self-enhancement were ready to take advantage of them.

With the enlargement of sphere, the extension of operations to Washington, decisive action tended to be removed from the reservation to the capital. In the factionalism just reviewed, it is significant that there appears, perhaps for the first time, the spectacle of partisan councils, each excluding the opposition and each purporting to represent tribal opinion.

Saddened by the conflict, Knott C. Egbert wrote prophetic words from Siletz. "The Klamaths," he observed, "might be enormously wealthy if less turbulent, and had behaved. . . . After all though, notwithstanding it would make them paupers, it may be best for the govt. to buy them out and sell the surplus lands. They will sooner become rational." And he added, "One could well dread the sweating period through which the Klamaths must pass on the path to full citizenship, involving as it does the acquisition of money, the drinking of lots rum &c. . . ."[81]

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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

*648 *657 619 423 665 members of the Discussion Group remained influential. More significantly, perhaps, for the long run, they began to employ their newfound unity in fund-raising enterprises in Chiloquin, and thus took an initial step in creating a new civic image for the Klamath.

*648 *657 619 666 423 When the vote was held, over seventy per cent of the tribal membership elected to withdraw, the government purchasing their land and creating from it the Winema National Forest. Of the other voters, the majority did not directly elect to enter into the trust under which the U.S. National Bank has since been managing their joint resources. In this last decisive moment, they returned no ballot at all, and thus were automatically included among the remaining members. The outcome of the vote was in part an expression of confidence among the Klamath in their ability to handle their own affairs, in a measure a rejection of any continued trust status, colored with the anticipation of realizing a large sum—approximately $43,500 per person. However, so complex were the issues and so heavily were they beclouded at the time of voting by contending claims and interpretations, that it is doubtful whether many members could in fact specify all the considerations which guided their final decision.

• 668 In the period since the enactment of termination in 1954, the Klamath became increasingly receptive toward inclusion within the broader rubric of what Mead has termed "American Indian nationality," and have begun to participate in pan-Indian affairs.[23] Membership in the National Congress of American Indians, participation in American Indian Days at Sheridan, Wyoming,[24] sponsorship of the All-Indian Invitational Basketball Tournament in Chiloquin and of an American Indian Beauty contest held in conjunction with it: these were only some of the more concrete manifestations. Although pan-Indianism has been growing, the receptivity on the part of the Klamath seems keyed to their needs in the crisis that confronted them. Threatened with the loss of the tribal body that had symbolized their collective heritage, they repaired to others which enabled them to preserve their identity. Those who would see the termination vote as an election by the majority of tribal members to become completely assimilated into the larger society must reckon in the significance of this neo-nativist movement.

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

Crow's laughter turned the human and animal objects of his wrath into stones,[6] the basalt outcropping which are today pointed out around the Klamath Reservation as evidence for the truth of the old tale. To summarize, while the culture hero was not himself a source of power for men, the forces at his command were essentially the same as those which every Klamath sought in a formalized quest. Although concerned with natural phenomena like winds, heat, and rain, Kemu'kemps was on the whole indifferent to the fate of men. Like other anthropomorphic or zoömorphic culture heroes, he became the theme of many tales, a source of amusement and entertainment in the aboriginal Klamath culture. But even though humor was present in the tales concerning him, he appears to have been regarded as real and with a slight tinge of awe. There is no question of his marked importance in the aboriginal culture.

To evaluate properly the Klamath culture hero in the modified setting of the contemporary society, attention must be paid to the religious modifications in the group since the inception of culture change through the encroachment of Anglo-American settlers. The Klamath were never drawn into hostilities with the Whites, unlike their linguistic relatives, the Modoc. Contacted sporadically by Europeans from 1825 on, the Klamath were ultimately drawn into a treaty with the United States in 1864. This reflected pioneer movements to the west and the growth of White population in Oregon. An enforced culture change began with the treaty.[7] There was as a result proscription of the shaman's ecstatic curing activities and an intensity of Christian missionization. Other introductions included a new technology, White education in reservation boarding schools, a new status in relation to an established administrative agency, and new concepts of property, society, and political tribe.[8] The result was in some instances chaotic rebellion, a resistance which took the form not so much of open revolt but rather of a half-hearted and often uncomprehending shift to new cultural values and patterns. The effects are observable today in the tacit rejection of governmental administration and external Euro-American social goals, and in the disorganization of society and personality on the reservation.

Klamath history is well known since the treaty of 1864. Like many western American tribes, the Klamath were ripe for the native messianic movements, the cults which promised a return to the past and implied expulsion of the European oppressor. An example is the Ghost Dance of 1870.[9] Here Christian

[6] Gatschet, pt. 1, 131-132. Some informants suggest that the name for Crow or Raven, Ka'ăkemps, is the same as Kemu'kemps. This is doubtful, of course. Parenthetically, many modern Klamath insist that there are no snakes in the Williamson River valley because all were turned to stone by Crow's laughter.

[7] Philleo Nash, "The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation," in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago, 1937), pp. 385-412.

[8] Nash, 1937, loc. cit.

[9] Leslie Spier, *The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 2: 2, Seattle, 1927), 39-56.

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

Here Christian elements, like the sign of the cross, were interspersed with native Klamath traits relating to the shamanistic seance and to the aboriginal folklore. The acculturation process also involved modification and integration of Ghost Dance forms introduced from adjacent tribes.[10] The growth of tribal, rather than hamlet, factions split the reservation at this time, and there was the pattern, familiar among other Indians, of chief rivalling shaman and of progressive against conservative. While the 1870 cult is one abortive attempt at native cultural revival, the post-contact history of the Klamath is replete with illustrations of a religiously conceived resistance to the disrupting pressures from without. Variously listed are the Earthlodge Cult, the Dream Dance, and several other revivalistic and messianic forms.[11]

By about 1900, nativistic movements on the Klamath Reservation had burned themselves out. Tribal life of a half century ago was fraught with essentially the same problems which dog it today. People entered into economic competition in the greater society and became nominally Christian (and so lent Methodist sanctions to social institutions). However, the older values were only with difficulty accommodated to the new. One or two shamanistic practitioners survived but others felt that their power was gone. One informant tells of her uncle, a shaman, saying sadly, "My songs (shaman power) have left me." Shamanism as an integrating factor in Klamath life and in that of other Pacific Northwest groups is reflected in another important movement, somewhat different from the frenzied Ghost Dance. This is the Shaker Cult, also a synthesis of native and Christian elements but with longer range objectives. Originating in the north in the 1880's, it diffused slowly, reaching the Klamath in 1914.[12] Basically Christian in its orientation, the Shaker Cult admits a fundamentalistic Protestant eschatology; but in its emphasis on a "God is Light" theme, the employment of the cross as a particularly efficacious holy symbol, the use of bells, and the presence of curing seances, it assumed a peculiar flavor. Numerous aboriginal elements also are discernible.[13] Techniques reminiscent of shamanistic curing are employed (for example, the removing of causes of disease from the sufferer's body by means suggestive of shamanistic legerdemain), although the Shakers vigorously disclaim the older shamans, describe their work as of the devil, and insist that the spirit of God effects Shaker cures. But the Shaker Cult, too, although it enjoyed a following on the Klamath Reservation for some years, is dying. A few older people now meet in each other's homes for services. The Shaker church at Chiloquin, Oregon, is now rarely used, and the younger

[10] Spier, 1927, p. 45. The Ghost Dance was evidently introduced from the Northern Paiute. The Klamath held that Kemu'kempe was coming from the south and that the dead were to return. See p. 53.

[11] Nash, 1937, pp. 412-435; cf. Cora DuBois, *The 1870 Ghost Dance* (Anthropological Records, 3: 1, Berkeley, 1939), 130-134.

[12] Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance* (General Series in Anthropology, no. 1, Menasha, Wis., 1935), 54.

[13] Erna Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," in *Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. Marian Smith (New York, 1949), pp. 37-76.